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TOSEC 297

E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS: EC
SUBJECT: APPRAISAL OF EC SUMMIT

SUMMARY: OUR PRELIMINARY REACTION TO DECEMBER 14-15 EC SUMMIT IN COPENHAGEN IS THAT WHILE IT WAS DISAPPOINTING FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, IT DID FURTHER, REAFFIRM AND REINFORCE EC-NINE DRIVE TOWARDS UNITY BUT PAPERED OVER MANY PROBLEMS BOTHERING MEMBERS. WE HAVE NOT YET SEEN REACTIONS FROM THE MAJOR CAPITALS BUT BASED ON THE SUMMIT STATEMENT AND THE PRESS REPORTS WE MAKE THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS.

1. SUMMIT AND US -- DESPITE PRELIMINARY INDICATIONS THAT US-EC RELATIONS WOULD CONSTITUTE IMPORTANT SUMMIT TOPIC, PRESS STATEMENT AND IDENTIFY PAPER HAD NOTHING NEW TO SAY ON THIS SUBJECT. THE STATEMENT CONTAINED ONLY ONE REFERENCE TO US VIZ., THAT EUROPEAN UNITY PER SE WILL BENEFIT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE US. THERE WAS NO APPRECIATION IN THE DOCUMENT THAT EFFORTS MUST BE MADE TO ENHANCE THIS RELATIONSHIP. THE EC NINE IDENTITY PAPER APPROVED AND ISSUED AT THE SUMMIT, ALTHOUGH DRAFTED
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EARLIER AS RESULT OF THE COMPROMISE TO GET FRENCH AGREEMENT TO PROCEED WITH US-EC DECLARATION, DOES NOT GO BEYOND FRENCH FORMULATIONS ON RELATIONS WITH US IN THE 1972 EC

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SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE AND MAY PROVIDE BASIS FOR FRENCH TO BLOCK MORE SATISFACTORY FORMULATIONS IN THE US-EC DECLARATION. FOR EXAMPLE, IT REPEATS THE FORMULA ON "MAINTAINING A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE" WITH THE US, A CODE WORD FOR NO NEW INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. FURTHER-MORE, THE IDENTITY PAPER PUTS RELATIONS WITH THE US FOURTH ON LIST, PRECEDED BY STATEMENTS ON THE COMMUNITY'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, THE ASSOCIATES, AND OTHER LDCS, AND MEDITERRANEAN AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES. A NEW FORMULA ALSO WAS USED THAT THE COMMUNITY WOULD "PURSUE A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE" WITH OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES, E.G., CANADA AND JAPAN, THE IMPLICATION BEING THAT THE EC WILL ACTIVELY SEEK TO FORMALIZE ITS BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THOSE COUNTRIES. FINALLY, THE SUMMIT FAILED TO PRODUCE ANY RESPONSE TO SECRETARY'S CALL FOR AN ENERGY ACTION GROUP, AS *ISCUSSED IN A SUBSEQUENT PARAGRAPH THIS MESSAGE.

2. THE SUMMIT AND HE MIDDLE EAST -- THE APPEARANCE OF THE FOUR ARAB FOREIGN MINISTERS IN COPENHAGEN WITHOUT A DOUBT DIVERTED SUMMIT FROM OTHER IMPORTANT WORK AND CAME CLOSE TO UPSTAGING THE ENTIRE SUMMIT. MUCH TIME WAS SPENT ON HOW TO DEAL WITH THE ARAB DELEGATION AND THE FORMULA USED MANAGEDTO MAINTAIN SOME DISTANCE. FURTHER-MORE, THE DANISH SPOKESMAN FOR THE SUMMIT WHO RECEIVED THE ARABS WARNED THEM POLITELY THAT THE CONTINUED SQUEEZE ON EUROPEAN OIL SUPPLY WAS PRODUCING AN ADVERSE EFFECT ON PUBLIC OPINION WHICH COULD WORK AGAINST THE ARABS' CAUSE. THE PRESS STATEMENT REAFFIRMED THE EC NINE STATEMENT OF NOVEMBER 6 AND STATED THAT THE NINE WERE "READY" TO PLAY A ROLE IN A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT AND IN GUARANTEEING SUCH A SETTLEMENT.

3. THE SUMMIT AND ENERGY -- THERE WAS NO RESPONSE TO THE SECRETARY'S PROPOSAL FOR AN ENERGY ACTION GROUP. IN FACT, THE STATEMENT THAT IT WOULD BE "USEFUL TO STUDY" IN THE OECD WAYS OF DEALING WITH COMMON SHORT- AND LONG-
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TERM ENERGY PROBLEMS COULD BE READ AS A REJECTION OF ANY REAL JOINT ACTION. SOME COMMUNITY LEADERS, HOWEVER, HAVE ALREADY STRESSED IN POST-SUMMIT STATEMENTS THAT THE PRESS STATEMENT SHOULD NOT BE READ AS REJECTING THE SECRETARY-'S PROPOSAL. WE WILL NEED TO GET SOME MORE AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENTS FROM CAPITALS BEFORE DRAWING ANY CONCLUSIONS. THE SUMMIT, HOWEVER, CREATED THE ILLUSION OF MOVEMENT TOWARDS A COMMON RESPONSE TO ENERGY PROBLEMS BY IMPOSING A SERIES OF EARLY DEADLINES FOR THE COMMISSION TO PRESENT PROPOSALS FOR COUNCIL ACTION "TO ENSURE THE ORDERLY FUNCTIONING OF THE COMMON MARKET FOR ENERGY".

THE COUNCIL WAS SPECIFICALLY ASKED TO ASSURE THAT MEMBER

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STATES INTRODUCE "ON A CONCERTED AND EQUITABLE BASIS" MEASURE FOR ENERGY CONSERVATION, A GERMAN AND DUTCH PROPOSAL. JOBERT WAS REPORTED TO HAVE TOLD THE PRESS THAT THIS DID NOT MEAN THAT THE WEEKEND MOTORTRIPS OF THE FRENCH WOULD BE CURTAILED. THE UK AND FRANCE SUCCESSFULLY RESISTED ANY REAL MOVEMENT TOWARD A COMMON PUBLIC POSTURE IN THE COMMUNITY ON OIL SHARING BETWEEN THE HAVE AND HAVE-NOT COUNTRIES. NONETHELESS AN OPEN SPLIT AMONG THE NINE WAS AVERTED, AND THE TIMETABLE MAY YET PRODUCE SOME FORWARD MOTION ON AN EC ENERGY POLICY, THOUGH WE HAVE NO INDICATION OF ANY IMPORTANT CHANGE IN POSITION BY LONDON AND PARIS. THE FRENCH POINT ON EC NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PRODUCERS ON COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC COOPERATION WAS INCLUDED AS WAS A REFERENCE TO A EUROPEAN NUCLEAR ENRICHMENT CAPACITY.

4. THE SUMMIT AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT -- THE SUMMIT UNDERLINED AGAIN THE PROGRESSIVE SHIFT IN EMPHASIS FROM THE ECONOMIC TO THE POLITICAL AREA AND FROM THE COMMUNITY TO THE INTER-GOVERNMENTAL WAY OF DOING BUSINESS. THE PRESS STATEMENT CALLED FOR EUROPE TO "SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE IN IMPORTANT WORLD AFFAIRS" AND FOR MORE FREQUENT (NOT REGULAR) SUMMITS, AS CONDITIONS DEMAND OR TO PROVIDE A STIMULUS AND LAY DOWN GUIDELINES FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION. IT ALSO TURNED OVER RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAKING PROPOSALS ON DEFINING EUROPEAN UNION TO "THE PRESIDENCY", RATHER THAN TO COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS WHICH WERE ASSIGNED THE RESPONSIBILITY BY THE PARIS SUMMIT.
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THE SUMMIT CHARGED FOREIGN MINISTERS OF MEMBER STATES TO DECIDE AT THEIR NEXT MEETING ON MEANS FOR WORKING OUT COMMON POSITIONS QUICKLY IN TIMES OF CRISIS. BY CONTRAST THE PRESS STATEMENT PORTIONS ON FUTURE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION URGED PROGRESS TOWARDS THE GOAL OF THE HAGUE AND PARIS SUMMITS OF ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION WITHOUT IN ANY WAY ADVANCING IT. ON THE IMPORTANT ISSUE OF REGIONAL FUND DESIRED BY HEATH, THE ITALIANS AND THE IRISH THE SUMMIT APPARENTLY LEFT THE DECISION ON SIZE AND APPORTIONMENT TO THE NEXT EC COUNCIL MEETING.

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5. IMPACT OF SUMMIT ON US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS -- BOTH THE PRESS STATEMENT OF THE SUMMIT AND THE IDENTITY PAPER ARE COUCHED IN TERMS OF ASSERTING A DISTINCT EUROPEAN IDENTITY, WHOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US IS BASED ON A "SPIRIT OF FRIENDHSHIP" BUT NOT A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP. MOREOVER, BOTH DOCUMENTS, HOWEVER, WILL HAVE FURTHER IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT OF US-EC AND NATO DECLARATIONS.

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A) NATO DECLARATION

PARAGRAPH 8 OF THE EC IDENTITY PAPER HAS A DIRECT IMPACT ON THE NATO DECLARATION, SINCE IT CONTAINS LANGUAGE SIMILAR TO THE FORMULATION IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF THE NATO TEXT DESCRIBING A DIFFERENTIATED THREAT. MORE SPECIFICALLY, THE EC PAPER (PARA 8) NOTES THAT THE EC MEMBERS "AGREE THAT IN LIGHT OF THE RELATIVE MILITARY VULNERABILITY OF EUROPE, THE EUROPEANS SHOULD, IF THEY WISH TO PRESERVE THEIR INDEPENDENCE, HOLD TO THEIR COMMITMENTS AND MAKE CONSTANT EFFORTS TO ENSURE THAT THEY HAVE ADEQUATE MEANS OF DEFENSE AT THEIR DISPOSAL." THIS LANGUAGE, IN EFFECT, SAYS THAT BECAUSE EUROPE IS MORE VULNERABLE TO ATTACK THAN NORTH AMERICA, THE EUROPEANS SHOULD HOLD TO THEIR ALLIANCE COMMIT-MENTS, RATHER THAN BASING THEIR COMMITMENT ON THE INDIVISIBILITY OF ALLIANCE SECURITY.

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PARAGRAPH 8 OF THE EC PAPER ALSO CONTAINS LANGUAGE NOTING THAT "IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES" THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE US NUCLEAR UMBRELLA AND US FORCES IN EUROPE. WE HAVE OBJECTED TO A SIMILAR FORMULATION IN THE FRENCH DRAFT NATO TEXT, BECAUSE IT IMPLIES THAT THE SIUATION MAY SOON CHANGE.

B) US-EC DELCARATION

SOME OF THE LANGUAGE IN THE IDENTITY PAPER ALSO IMPACTS NEGATIVELY ON POINTS AT ISSUE IN THE DRAFTING OF THE US-EC DECLARATION.

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THE IDENTITY PAPER DESCRIBES (

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